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A LETTER

TO THE

MARQUIS OF LORN,

ON THE

PRESENT TIMES.

BY

DONALD CAMPBELL, Esq.
Of Barbreck.

"Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice."

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BRITISH MUSEUM

A

LETTER, &c.

MY LORD,

WE are arrived at a criſis when ceremony muſt give way to buſineſs, and men are called upon to act rather as they ought, than as they pleaſe; when private eaſe and indulgence muſt be changed for public energy and exertion, and the feelings of the man muſt yield to the duties of the patriot and the citizen. Nothing leſs than a conviction of this truth could juſtify me to my own heart for offering ſuch violence to your feelings, as I am aware I ſhall do when I addreſs you in this public manner. Modeſt and unobtruſive, you court

that obſcurity which your talents, your rank, and your duty forbid you to embrace; and poſtpone the fair claims of your country upon your exertions, with a diffidence, which, however amiable it might be in common caſes, becomes blameable in men of your condition, and in times of danger like the preſent: like every other good quality, it recedes from virtue, when it travels within the limits of exceſs, and is therefore too often found to be the bane of thoſe endowments, of which it is allowed to be a ſymptom. Abſtractedly ſpeaking, humility is an excellent virtue; but when it retards the progreſs of great talents, chills the ardour of public exertion, and caſts its magic circles round the ſoul, to chain it down to inaction, its power produces ruin—like the gems aad trappings of an unthinking female, it at laſt betrays what it at firſt adorns; and if allowed to predominate, robs the public of its rights, to give repoſe to the individual. Far from me be the thought of imputing to your Lordſhip ſuch a blameable exceſs. Whenever the time ſhall arrive that the demands of the exalted rank to which you are heir ſhall preſs upon you the diſcharge of a great public duty, I am ſure you will ſtep

forward

forward with the vigour appropriate to your blood, and the dignity characteriſtic of your illuſtrious family;—but as that period is probably remote (and that it may be far, far diſtant, is my wiſh, not leſs than I know it to be your own), the claims of your country upon your exertions ought not in the mean time to be loſt, nor the ſhare which you are able to bring to the aggregate ſtock of national ſtrength and national wiſdom, to be withheld from it. I well know, my Lord, this is a language which you will be among the laſt to approve or underſtand. If the world thought as humbly of you as you do of yourſelf, I ſhould incur only cenſure for this attempt—but as I am perſuaded I ſhall have every one beſides yourſelf on my ſide when I exhort you to come forward, I will not ſuffer even the ſuperior reſpect I feel for your Lordſhip to interfere with a paramount duty, nor ſacrifice my ſentiments at the altar of that worthleſs idol, Ceremony. But before I proceed in my deſign, let me aſſure your Lordſhip, that in what is to follow, as well as in that which I have ſaid, I am influenced by no one principle except that of zeal for the public good, and anxiety for the ſafety and welfare of the country in which

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every thing I poſſeſs and every thing I value are rooted. Of flattery even my enemies will acquit me.—It is a vice, I believe, not leſs foreign to my temper than inconſiſtent with my circumſtances.

My fortune, thank God, is fully adequate to my occaſions; and if it were not ſo, I would take care to proportion my deſires in ſuch a manner as to render me independent of the world, and above hopes or wiſhes from any man or ſet of men; and natural taſte, as well as habit, have ever made me abhorrent of that vile and ignoble proſtration of ſpirit which dictates adulation. Notwithſtanding, I cannot help feeling anxiety, if not diſmay, at the view before us—regardleſs, I believe, as moſt men of my own ſolitary riſk. I have objects far dearer than myſelf, who preſs upon my attention, and tell me I muſt look beyond myſelf.—I have ſons, whoſe future intereſts, perhaps whoſe lives, depend upon the cauſe now at iſſue, and whoſe welfare forbids me to be at peace while I conſider the tremendous ſtate of public affairs.—I have one whom, at a tender age, I have devoted to the military ſervice of his country, and who will, I truſt, juſtify the partial good opinion

which

which thoſe leſs intereſted in him than a fond father muſt be, have beſtowed upon him—and I wiſh the cauſe in which I have thus embarked my beſt treaſure to be conducted with honour and with wiſdom. But I ſee that not only Great Britain is environed with danger, but that the ſtate machine daily deviates farther and farther from its accuſtomed track.—I ſee our conſtitutional ſyſtem ſinking under ſymptoms of rapid decay, the ſkeleton only of that vigorous frame which once beſtrode the earth: the beſt blood no longer pours in a full torrent to the heart, to be thence ſent to the extremities for the ſupport of the whole; but every channel is clogged—every duct is palſied—every function is nearly ſuſpended for want of due energy and animation in the greater ſources of action and life; while the heart itſelf, obſtructed and gangrened with corruption, ſecreted from abuſe, daily beats with leſs vigour, converts that which it receives to putreſcence, and returns it back into our ſyſtem, to generate new diſeaſe, and increaſe the morbid debility of the ſtate. My Lord, it is becauſe I ſee and lament this, and at the ſame time think the cure is only to be found in the vigorous exertions of perſons of your

Lordſhip's

Lordſhip's deſcription, that I take upon me, in this public manner, to addreſs you; to call in the name of Britain upon you, and all who are in the ſame ſituation with you, to come forward, and to aſſert thoſe rights to act, and that efficiency in the ſtate, to which your rank, your virtues, your endowments, and, above all, the great intereſt you have in the preſervation of the country, entitle you. I have endeavoured to trace this diſorder to its legitimate ſource, and I apprehend much of it will be found to ariſe from that diffidence and backwardneſs in the ſubſtantial proprietors of the ſoil, which I could wiſh to correct, or rather totally extinguiſh in your Lordſhip.

When I look through the hiſtory of our beſt times, and find that the reigns of our different kings were happy and glorious, in proportion as they ſuffered themſelves to be guided by men of plain dignified ſenſe and untainted honour, and rejected the counſel of charlatan orators and fungous deſkmen, I cannot help feeling, there is nothing we have more to lament, than our preſent deviation from that good old practice. The great aſcendency which mere oratory, without wiſdom or virtue, has of late obtained, is nearly

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extinguiſhing the firſt vital principle of integrity and ſecurity in the ſtate; and ſeems, in fact, to have for ever reſigned the whole power of government into the hands, not of the wiſe, not of the virtuous, not of thoſe whoſe ſtake in the country muſt be a pledge for their fidelity, but of that man, whoever he may be, who can lanch the fatal bolt of eloquence with moſt powerful effect; who has the talent, by bold and ſeditious ſpeeches, to inflame the multitude againſt our executive government, and then to cajole them into an opinion, that he alone, being the moſt eloquent, can beſt ſhield them from oppreſſion. The needy, unprincipled adventurer, thus riſes to the demagogue, the demagogue to the commoner, the commoner to the miniſter, and, in perfect congruity with the progreſſive elevation, the miniſter becomes the tyrant and plunderer of his country. My Lord, I do not put this as a caſe of poſitive fact in all its parts, but as one which may, to that extent, and even worſe, occur from the abuſe into which our ſyſtem has fallen. We are not to ſuppoſe the worſt will not happen, becauſe it has not yet happened. But upon the principles on which our ſtate affairs have for ſome time been managed, is it at all impoſſi-

ble that the very worſt men in the country may, in ſpite of thoſe whom it moſt concerns, be intruded into the direction of our ſtate? If, indeed, fluent ſpeaking, now called eloquence, were the teſt of wiſdom, it would ſtill remain to be ſhown, that it is a proof of integrity, before we ſhould allow it to be the ſole title to the moſt important truſt in the world. Integrity, or at leaſt a pride that mimicked it, was happily united with eloquence in the late Lord Chatham; but no one will deny, that Sir George Saville, who was not very eloquent, poſſeſſed the ability of being much more uſeful, without the power to be half ſo dangerous, and was, therefore, a much better ſtateſman: however, as he was extremely honeſt, and extremely wiſe, though not extremely eloquent, he could not hope to be a miniſter,—and he never was one. Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox, have, between them, pretty nearly exemplified my theory; and if they, and Mr. Sheridan (all of them mortal men, though great orators), were ſwept off in this fatal frenzy, this fanatical idolatry, this cullibility to public ſwindling, in the ſhape of public ſpeaking, what would there be to prevent your Lordſhip, the whole gentry of the land, and all

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the property, virtue, and talents they inherit, from ſinking beneath the adminiſtration of Mr. Tooke, or Mr. Thelwall? I do not mean to inſinuate that either Mr. Pitt, or Mr. Fox, are deficient in private honour and integrity, or totally deſtitute of wiſdom; but the perverted ambition of both has given perfect maturation to the ſyſtem I condemn, and made a wound in the ſtate, which nothing but a material change of ſyſtem can heal. Party, which was once only a ſalutary jealouſy of the increaſing predominancy of a certain part of the conſtitution over the others, is now ſunk into an intereſted ſcuffle for power between two factions, headed by thoſe two gentlemen; the latter of whom has put the charge beyond all queſtion, by declining to attend Parliament when he became hopeleſs of power; —while he former, having obtained poſſeſſion of power, proceeds forward to his own ends, with the moſt ſhameleſs diſregard of the means, and moſt groſs violation of the principles upon which he roſe. My Lord, it is to this deplorable and fatal ſyſtem, ariſing from the fraudulent allurements, and pernicious aſcendency of public ſpeaking, that we owe the ruin of theſe kingdoms. Both the gentlemen, who thus beſtride the coun-

try, have loſt the confidence of the people, though not in the ſame degree. The nation looks round in diſmay, and viewing the horrid proſpect on every ſide, ſeeing a ferocious and powerful enemy menacing them from abroad,—ſedition and diſaffection threatening to diſorganiſe all at home,—finances deranged, or, as the wicked and diſaffected would inſinuate, totally exhauſted,—imbecility at the helm,—and corruption making rapid progreſs through the whole ſyſtem, naturally exclaim—Why does not his Majeſty change his miniſters? But for whom? For Mr. Fox?—No, ſay they—we are badly circumſtanced with the preſent miniſters, but certainly ſhould not mend ourſelves by changing them for Mr. Fox, or Mr. Sheridan. It does not fall within the ſcope of my preſent purpoſe to diſcuſs the comparative merits of thoſe two gentlemen; it is enough for me to ſtate the fact as it ſtands, and then to conduct your Lordſhip to my leading inference, which is, that this abominable ſyſtem of rhetorical deception having gradually crept into the ſtate, and deſcended rapidly from the higher to the lower orders of the community, encouraged by the torpor and unpardonable neglect of the legitimate guardians of the ſtate to ſit them,

themſelves for the diſcharge of public office, has completely excluded, from even the contemplation of the people, as candidates for adminiſtration, all others, except the two rival orators, and their ſubordinate prize-fighters of the tongue; ſo that wiſhing the Pittites out of office, and ſetting their faces againſt the whole party of Mr. Fox, the nation never caſt one look at all, good or bad, beyond them, but patiently ſubmit to the yoke they now bear, becauſe they know of none that are fit or likely to relieve them.

Is it poſſible, my Lord, that all the wiſdom, all the ſagacity, all the political knowledge, all the integrity, and all the deliberative talents in the country, are confined to the principals of our two factions? Surely there muſt exiſt ſome efficient powers of mind in the great number of lords, commons, and men of property! For my part, I can conceive a man to be very wiſe, very honeſt, very ſagacious, and very active, without the fluent verbiage of Mr. Pitt, the argumentative force and dexterity of Mr. Fox, or the wit of Mr. Sheridan. How comes it then, that the people, gaſping for a change of adminiſtration, never look abroad in ſearch of others? I will tell your Lordſhip. Becauſe

cauſe the whole maſs of their thoughts and opinions is ingulfed and abſorbed by thoſe two men; who, if they were liable to no other poſitive objection, are at leaſt thrown into the ſhade of ſuſpicion, if not diſqualification, by the very fact of their being ſtateſmen by trade, or trading ſtateſmen. Why does not our gracious ſovereign form a new adminiſtration, out of the virtue and ſound ſenſe of the proprietary of this kingdom? Becauſe having too ſeverely felt, he well knows, the fatal effects of this pernicious power; becauſe he knows that a third party, particularly if erected upon honeſt independent principles, would now be looked upon as an interloper in the trade, and be driven away; that is to ſay, voted out of office directly. Would not one be led *prima facie* to imagine, that the greater part of our ſtateſmen, in and out of power, were in league with thoſe abominable monſters who have conſpired to bring our conſtitution firſt into contempt, and then to ruin? Not only have they uſurped to themſelves the whole buſineſs of public diſcuſſion, but prevailed upon our legiſlators to reſign into their hands the whole power of thinking. The free agency of members of parliament, in matters

of

public importance, ſeems to be not only loſt, but utterly forgotten, as if it never did exiſt. With the exception of a road, a canal, or a turnpike bill, what member, on either ſide, is hardy enough to propoſe any meaſure of his own, except in way of humble ſuggeſtion, or private hint, to the miniſter, or his great adverſary? If, aſſerting the right of a legiſlator, any other gentleman give notice of a new meaſure, what is the conſequence? Empty benches!—Why? Becauſe he only can ſpeak plain common ſenſe in plain words, and has not learned to fill the ears of an auditory with a volume of turgid declamation; becauſe he cannot round a period with the ſtage effect of a player; and becauſe, though he informs, he cannot divert the Houſe. My Lord, this is not an overcharged deſcription: in reality, if we were to judge of the nature of the buſineſs done there, from the number and attendance of members, we muſt ſuppoſe it to be a place rather of amuſement, than buſineſs: a kind of theatre, to which, not the importance of the drama, but the names of the performers, bring full benches. There, ſo long as the great intellectual gladiators on both ſides continue to cut and hack, and ſcar each others

faces,

faces, and begrime one another with naſtineſs, not a man will budge, and the plaudits, "Hear, hear!" reſound throughout the Houſe. As ſoon as they have done, if a plain, upright country gentleman, one who, inſtead of having ſpent his time in learning this hiſtrionic cant to cheat and delude the nation, has devoted his youth to the acquirement, and his manhood to the practice, of ſubſtantial, uſeful knowledge and induſtry; if he, I ſay, attempts to ſpeak, though he ſpeak to the purpoſe, yet ſhall he not be heard, but indecently forced to ſit down by coughing and hemming, the parliamentary mode of hiſſing off a performer, as "Hear, "hear!" is the plaudit of approbation. Meantime the queſtion, ſo far as the opinions of thoſe preſent, remains the ſame as at firſt; it is enough to be amuſed; it would be too much in conſcience to be convinced.

Thus the miſchievous ſyſtem that has ariſen out of the univerſal paſſion for fine ſpeechifying gradually reduced the grave, important deliberations of a ſenate-houſe to the mummery of an Italian opera, where ſound only draws attention, and two or three half-male exotic animals with two legs, by the mere modulating of a ſweet voice, fill the

benches of a vaſt amphitheatre with gaping admirers, who ſacrifice their time and moſt important concerns in liſtening to a ſucceſſion of deluſive melody without meaning, and words, which, if they have any ſerious ſenſe couched beneath them, are not intelligible by one in a hundred of the audience.

My Lord, this is of itſelf a ſore evil. How many queſtions of magnitude and ultimate importance to the ſtate may thus be for ever loſt? How many of bad tendency may thus unobſerved paſs into laws? In fine, what meaſure is attended to, if Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, or Mr. Sheridan, do not appear in the bills of the day? And is this being members of parliament? Did the Pelhams, the Pulteneys, or the Stanhopes, proſtitute their talents, or inſult the dignity of Parliament, by introducing faction within its walls? for it is the very eſſence of faction to make the conteſts of individuals, and not the merits of meaſures, ſubjects of parliamentary diſcuſſion. Did the great men, whoſe names I have mentioned, miſpend the time, delude the minds, and exhauſt the attention of the Houſe with ſaucy ſquabbles about themſelves? No—no ſuch thing; —they would not have been permitted;

nor would they have done ſo, if they were; for their only emulation was in wiſdom, gravity, and patriotiſm: while they guarded the rights of the people with more diſintereſted ſolicitude than any of our modern demagogues, they never ſtooped to the mean artifice of letting looſe the mob to hunt after power, or of dividing the ſovereignty of the country between the legal magiſtrate and the multitude.

But, my Lord, theſe are not the only miſchiefs which the country has experienced from the leaders of our two great factions. They have diveſted the character of the ſtateſman of its ſanctity and reſpect. Their repeated apoſtacy, their at one time adopting, at another rejecting the very ſame principle, as it happened to ſuit their intereſt or conveniency; ſkipping, like baboons in an orchard, from branch to branch, as they ſaw the proſpect of fruit; ſpringing, with the eagerneſs of indiſcriminate proſtitution, from the arms of prerogative to the embraces of faction; from the lap of wild democracy to the ſtye of court corruption; has ſo warped the hearts of the people, that all profeſſions of purity in ſtateſmen are now derided as inſincere;

cere; opinion, the corner-ſtone of our ſyſtem, is in decay; every cobler or tinker, as he quaffs his can of beer at the ale-houſe, pays a ſide-wind compliment to his own integrity by inveighing againſt the profligacy of ſtateſmen, and puts his own impotence in compariſon with their immorality; and every Billingſgate wench may now claim the ſanction of her betters for her vileſt invective, ſince our two parliamentary leaders, in the vehemence of their perſonal abuſe, and deſire to vilify each other's fame, reveal the deformities they ought in decency to hide, juſt as thoſe female enragées tear the covering from off each other's backs, and expoſe thoſe parts which, in regard to the decorum of their ſex, they are mutually intereſted to conceal.

My Lord, when the fountain is impure, the ſtream will for ſome time be muddy: there is this difference, however, between the natural and political ſtream, that the former often depurates, and depoſits its impurities as it recedes from the fountain; while the latter, meandering in a thouſand ſerpentine channels, and paſſing generally through a filthy ſoil, collects new feculence in its deſcent: ſluggiſh and ſordid, it creeps

downward, tainting the atmoſphere with its putrid exhalations, poiſoning as it paſſes, and corrupting, inſtead of fertilizing, the land. Caſt your eyes round, my Lord; view things in their naked ſhape, not in that robe of concealment which your good-nature throws over the imperfections of others; examine every arrangement, every department of our civil and military eſtabliſhments, badly deſigned, badly executed, and compoſed of materials that it is eaſy to ſee were furniſhed by contract, and procured at the very cheapeſt rate. But this is not all: ſociety itſelf, even down to its ſubordinate claſſes, ſeems to be infected with the reigning vices of the great: the moſt remote parts of the empire have a ſympathy with the head; and ſome of the dependants of the Scotch nobility can emulate the court dependants of the metropolis of the empire in ambition, avarice, and inſolence, and can ſneak to their patron, and ſwagger to their inferior; can cabal and intrigue, ſooth and inſult, flatter and betray, with as ready a grace as any pander in the purlieus of St. James's. My Lord, it were devoutly to be wiſhed, that thoſe who, lamenting, as I do, the univerſally

ſally increaſing depravity of the country, would endeavour to trace it up to its ſource, and look around them for moral analogies from which to reaſon; they could hardly fail of finding, in an hour's contemplation, abundant inſtances to prove that depravity may ſpring from the court while the ſovereign himſelf is virtuous, and that the monarch may be inſtrumental to the deſigns of the court againſt his own honour and the happineſs of his people. Turn your eyes, my Lord, to the ſeats of the nobility of Scotland, long the manſions of virtue and hoſpitality; the illuſtrious proprietors, like your auguſt and venerable ſire, at once the pride and delight of their domeſtic families, and the idols of the ſurrounding country, attached to their tenants and peaſantry as to ſo many relatives, the fathers and the friends of every individual within the ſphere of their action or influence, and willing nothing but beneficence to man; yet how often are the fruits of their benevolence blaſted by the creatures who ſurround them! If age, infirmity, or avocations of a more public kind, prevent them from directing their own affairs in minute detail, obliged by neceſſity to depute

depute to others the adminiſtration of their bounty, they too often err in their choice of a perſon, appointing him who, by hypocriſy, plauſibility, and a ſpecious affectation of zeal, probity, and fidelity, has continued to gain an undue aſcendency over their minds. Take a fellow, perhaps from the dregs of the people, ſometimes from the dregs of the law, a profeſſion, the practice of which often tends to harden the heart, to narrow the mind, to deprave and debaſe the intellect into low-meaning cunning, and to unfit the man for the conceptions of any expanſive principle, or the practice of any generous feeling; ſuch men are but ill qualified to become the proxies of ſuch noblemen, or to execute, even at ſecond-hand, the ſuggeſtions of their enlarged and benevolent hearts, and too often convert into a curſe that which their maſters intend to be a bleſſing. In thoſe caſes the very wickedneſs of the ſinner becomes his ſecurity from detection; the conſciouſneſs of his guilt urges him to a more ſedulous hypocriſy; and, fearing the power of the petty tyrant, none will dare to complain of him. In the preſence of his maſter, he throws off his proper ſelf, and, with an addreſs that is aſto-

aſtoniſhing, aſſumes the manner, and takes the complexion of his ſuperior's ſpeech and habit of thinking, apes his deportment, and, for the time, ſeems all mildneſs, kindneſs, and gentleneſs. He goes forth, and, being out of the ſphere of awe and rebuke, the Proteus falls back into his own ſhape, and the crouching ſycophant at once becomes the haughty, overbearing, purſe-proud ruffian; boiſterous in his addreſs, brutal in his deportment, and tyrannical in his conduct: while the people ſuffer, in fact, the maſter's fame is injured, unleſs it ſhould happen that his character, like that of the venerable Duke, has been already eſtabliſhed, and rivetted in the hearts and opinions of the people, by the practice of all the manly as well as milder virtues, by public ſpirit, charity, hoſpitality, generoſity, and benevolence: in that caſe, ample juſtice is done to both; the maſter gets the credit he deſerves, while every thing unpleaſant or improper is entirely aſcribed to the man of buſineſs.

My Lord, is not all this true? and is not this a model in little of the abuſes of our government by bad miniſters?—But I can go much farther. Look to the diſtribution of

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rank in the armed force of your country; ſee the ſhameful farces performed on that ſtage; factors, ſtewards, and others of that claſs of ſervile dependants upon great men, raiſed to the command of corps, and having whole diſtricts under their direction, to the excluſion of men of birth, rank, and property, many of whom were old and experienced officers, and have rendered to their king and country eſſential public ſervices. But do you not know, or has it been concealed from your Lordſhip, that the country at large feel in the higheſt degree aſhamed and indignant at ſuch abuſe, and would give vent to their feelings, if they were not reſtrained by veneration and love for ſome excellent noblemen who are at the head of their counties?

I aſſure you, my Lord, I ſpeak the ſenſe of the country, when I ſay that the few gentlemen of property and long military ſervices, who accept of inferior ſtations under ſuch inferior men, give up their own dignity, and can therefore be hardly ſuppoſed to have ſuch regard for the dignity of their patron, as in the hour of danger would prompt them to ſupport him and his honour

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at any hazard. This then, my Lord, is a great evil. I think I have a right to be acquitted of any undue leaning to an ariſtocracy—in my account of my Journey overland to India, I have given a confeſſion of my political faith in that reſpect. If then I inveigh againſt the admiſſion of that claſs of dependants into offices of honour and truſt too generally, it is not becauſe I would willingly exclude the people from a laudable emulation and ambition; but becauſe, in the direction of national defence, property ſhould be put in truſt, as the ſureſt pledge of fidelity; and ſtill more becauſe thoſe men often combine in themſelves all the miſchievous principles of ariſtocracy and democracy, without one ray of the virtue of either. The very ſlough and offscouring of the vices of the great, with the meanneſs and baſeneſs of the worſt of the plebeians—ſlaves and tyrants—in diſplaying their vanity prodigal, in their hearts and habits penurious and peculating, affecting attachment to the nobility to ſerve their own ends, but privately panting for the day of revolution, when, in the general wreck of things, the keel may float alongſide the main-maſt, and they beard the maſters to whom the baſe adulators now

cringe and bend the ſupple hinge of the knee. If it were compatible with your Lordſhip's purſuits to drop down a little into the general miſcellany of men, you would ſee in this claſs much to diſguſt and much to alarm you :—while they plod forward in their own dirty furrow, they ſcatter abroad the ſeeds of ſubordinate profligacy; round them cluſter the worſt part of the clergy of the country, than whom there exiſt not men more dangerous, or more inſidious; and, as friends can harmonize, theſe agree.

The bad man of buſineſs has his hatred of the moderate proprietors, who juſtly deſpiſe him; and the bad clergyman alſo hates the moderate proprietor from political motives; and both join to depreciate the character of thoſe gentlemen. Your Lordſhip knows that the Scotch clergymen may be divided into two claſſes—the extremely good and the extremely bad; the latter, though by no means equally numerous with the former, are, univerſally ſpeaking, unqualified Jacobins, who vainly endeavour to conceal their deep and inveterate deſigns againſt the ſtate, againſt rank, order, and property, under the moſt ſervile adulation to the very

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great ones; and not having acceſs to the principals, lay their unworthy offerings at the feet of their agents and low ſubordinate factors. Difficult indeed would it be to analyze or deſcribe in the compaſs of a letter, a ſet of men, who, concealing the ſternneſs and rancour of democracy, and the bitterneſs of fanaticiſm, under the garb of piety and humility, with a degree of induſtry and zeal that would do honour to a better cauſe, indefatigably bend the whole force of their mental powers to depreciate in the public opinion, in order ultimately to deſtroy, that particular claſs of men, who conſtitute the true ſtrength, and compriſe within them the bulk of the virtue and ſubſtantial worth of the country—I mean the gentlemen of moderate property. What deliberate wickedneſs muſt theirs be, who work for the attainment of evil with ſuch fervid zeal, and can patiently purſue, by means of unremitted activity and unabated vigilance, an object deteſtable in itſelf, and remote, or rather, I hope, utterly impracticable in the end? However, my Lord, as they are ſo earneſt in their diabolical intentions, and carry with them into the field no deſpicable force, they ought to be watched with a jealous eye;

and they will be eaſily known from the good clergy by the marks in the front of the French brand, and by the tenour of their conduct, the whole of which, to a ſingle act, is collected in the focus of jacobiniſm. They will be found, as I have ſaid, continually depreciating the moderate proprietors, who ſtand intermediately between, and connect, the higheſt and loweſt ranks of ſociety; for they know very well, the moment they have removed that barrier which ſerves at once as a link to join, and a fence to protect each other from the encroachments and abuſes of the other, the higheſt order will ſink like a ſhadow before the ſuperior phyſical ſtrength of the multitude, whoſe power thoſe pious gentlemen endeavour to increaſe, and whoſe minds they ſtrive to ſtimulate to the higheſt pitch of malignity, envy and abhorrence of their ſuperiors, and to diſaffection and rebellion againſt the ſtate and conſtitution. Againſt the deſigns of men like theſe, actuated by the frenzy of a barbarous democracy, and with ſtrong intellect, and filled with craft, treachery, and diſſimulation, the vigilance, the energy, and the activity of all men ſhould be exerted. In theſe the ſhepherd becomes the wolf, who preys upon

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the fold. And the preacher, while he comes in the name of the Lord of Heaven and of peace, comes fraught with worſe than the fire and brimſtone of Hell, and inculcates the choſen doctrines of the enemy of mankind.

Before I quit this topic I muſt ſay a few words upon the ſubject of the Scottiſh clergy in general. I had been abſent from Scotland for many years; I had left it with a well-founded reverence for that body—learned, meek, and pious; charitable, ſober, and diligent; they deſerved, and they enjoyed, the veneration of all good men. I returned with ſtrong prejudices in their favour, and intending to paſs the greateſt part of my life in that country, indulged the hope of finding them exactly what I left them. Let not what I am about to ſay to your Lordſhip be ſuppoſed to include the whole body; for, on the contrary, I declare a great part of it emulate in every virtue, the beſt clergymen of the beſt days of Scotland. But I muſt avow my diſappointment was great and mortifying, to find, on my return, ſo many exceptions to that character which before was without an exception. In a part of that body I found a ſad reverſe; a total revolution ſeemed to have taken place in their habits,

habits, their morals, their manners, and their profeſſional conduct. In ſome of them the meek ſanctity of the ſacerdotal office was exchanged for the rancour of the republican, the furious enthuſiaſm of the democrate or Jacobin, and the reſtleſs, turbulent deportment of the factious politician. The mild precepts of religion were laid aſide for the petulant invective and ſelf-ſufficient dogmas of the new philoſophy; and the piety, truth, and ſincerity of the Chriſtian were abandoned for the craft, diſſimulation, and treachery of the French Jacobin. Inſtead of doing the office of conciliator and peace-maker, and, in imitation of the great Author of their religion, teaching the benevolent doctrine, "Love one another," they practiſe the reverſe, fomenting quarrels, unhinging the public opinion, and diſturbing public and private tranquillity; at the ſame time they almoſt entirely neglect one of the moſt important parts of their duty, that of affording the ſick and the dying the laſt and beſt conſolation our wretched nature can receive upon earth, omitting to viſit them or pray with them in their laſt moments.

I remember the time when it was conſidered a part of the buſineſs of our clergymen

men to inſtruct children; but there are amongſt them now who ſcorn to caſt away a moment of their time in that way, chooſing rather to diſpoſe of it in the, to them, more pleaſing taſk of ſowing diſſenſions among their neighbours, promoting litigation, and carrying on lawſuits againſt the proprietors for an increaſe of ſtipend for a duty which they never fulfil. My Lord, take this from me; you will, perhaps, recollect it hereafter—if the practices and purſuits of the bad part of the Scotch clergy are not kept in correction, an reduced to a nearer reſemblance to thoſe of the good, the morals, the happineſs, the ſocial order, and the property of the people of Scotland will be endangered, perhaps deſtroyed. Even among the French they manage their remaining clergy better: there each man pays the prieſt who he thinks moſt contributes to his happineſs, and affords him the beſt ſpiritual conſolation. Indeed, my Lord, ſomething ought to be done; for thoſe men have, in many inſtances, ſo alienated the affections of the people, that the latter are building churches, and paying miniſters of their own, although they are at the ſame time obliged to pay the eſtabliſhed miniſters, who are really, in

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ſome inſtances, ſo many ſcourges to their reſpective pariſhes. While this is the poſture of their morals, it is incredible with what fanatical rancour they affect to prop their reputation for faith by decrying that of others. A certain gentleman, who had read and taken great offence at Tom Pane's Age of Reaſon, thinking that ſuch a book would be more forcibly reſiſted by ridicule and contempt than by argument, undertook to ſhow, that, with ſcarcely an effort, the moſt ſerious and ſacred things might be treated as that bad man treated Chriſtianity; and to prove it, took pen and ink, and in a ſhort time produced about a dozen of lines in that ſtyle. The deſign was obvious. But one of thoſe pious gentlemen who think they can compound for any exceſs of bad works by a ſupererogatory faith, took upon him to aſſert, as a poſitive fact, that that gentleman was writing a book againſt the Bible. A gentleman who was preſent, replied, he was very much ſurpriſed to hear ſuch an allegation, as he had read a book, written a ſhort time before by that very gentleman, in which the moſt orthodox doctrines were ſtrenuouſly maintained.—"Yes, yes," replied the worthy churchman, "that is

"true;

" true; but he had his own reaſons for that, " and is now certainly writing againſt the " Bible." My Lord, the beſt comment that it is poſſible to make upon this ſpeech of the churchman was directly made in reply to him by the gentleman preſent—" There is " not much charity in the obſervation." My Lord, I hope you will not think me tedious in my way of elucidating this important point; and I muſt entreat you to give me your patience ſtill further, as I purpoſe to purſue the analogy between the abuſes in the ſtate, and the ſubordinate abuſes of private confidence in the ſmaller circles, for a double purpoſe.

My chief object is to prevail on you to take your part in the great drama that is now acting on the ſtage of Europe, by pointing out to you the miſchiefs that reſult from men of high rank, property, and reſponſibility, abſenting themſelves from our public deliberations. And while I illuſtrate this by analogies from private caſes, I point out to you a ſcene that invites you to act upon it, by taking many of thoſe analogies from Scotland, and the concerns of perſons not very remote from your own eſtate; ſhowing you at one view the propriety of your exerting yourſelf on the part of the Britiſh nation at

large, and of your own country in particular.

In the conſtitution of the army, as I have already ſtated, there appears to me to be a radical defect, to which the preſent commander in chief has not been able yet to apply a corrective, although his is the praiſe of having done more for the army than any commander who has preceded him. The defect to which I allude, is the admiſſion into it of men of very low birth, breeding, and education. Mere animal courage is ſo common, and ſo few are found deficient in it, that it gives no ſpecific title to military promotion. If it did, the claims of the private would be as good as thoſe of the commiſſioned officer: but there is a refined ſenſe of honour, a ſentimental delicacy of conduct, which, in my opinion, is a *ſine quâ non* in the military gentleman. To inculcate theſe ſentiments in my ſon, and to fit his ſoul and his mind for the profeſſion, and to accompliſh him to the utmoſt extent of my view of the character, I have devoted my whole time, and ſpared neither pains nor expenſe. Sterne, in my Uncle Toby, has given the moſt perfect delineation of what an officer ought to be. But the qualities to which I allude, are rarely, if ever, found

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in thoſe who want the early advantages of good breeding. If my poſition be denied, I deſire to have the queſtion decided by facts; and in proof of it, I maintain the military records of the laſt few years afford more inſtances of courts martial for low, mean, petty offences; for embezzlements, exactions, and ungentlemanly conduct, than the preceding half century. Till lately, vulgar diſputes, abuſive language, boxing, or gutter-buffing, were unknown among military gentlemen; now they are frequent; and ſome meſs-rooms of officers might be miſtaken for tap-rooms, or gin-ſhops, filled with coblers, tinkers, or porters. Nay, do we not ſee put upon the ſtaff, men who are utterly unworthy of ſuch diſtinguiſhed rank, either as ſoldiers or men, to the excluſion of others of acknowledged abilities, experience, and honour? I have my mind's eye upon one, and ſuch a one as reflects no ſmall diſcredit on thoſe who have appointed him; and one who ſerves as no inconſiderable illuſtration of my original hypotheſis, that the feebleneſs and corruption at the head has deſcended to all parts of our ſyſtem. Raiſed, ſupported, and puſhed forward, by the gratuitous liberality of others, this man arrived

at a rank which gave him an opportunity to put in practice all thoſe unworthy arts, ſo degrading to the gentleman and the ſoldier; but, in the preſent conſtitution of things, ſo uſeful to the man of the world. He roſe by playing the part of the ſycophant, though the tyrant was his natural character; and, leſt his perſonal indulgences ſhould be at war with his private intereſt, he made a kind of diſhonourable compoſition for the debt he owed to ſociety; repriſing himſelf for the homage and groſs adulation he offered to the great, by exacting and enforcing, wherever he dare, the moſt abject ſubmiſſion from others. Forty times in the four-and-twenty hours did this Proteus change his ſhape, and ſhift his character to the humour of his audience; this moment Scapin, that Timurkan; now the Ajax, now the Pandarus of the piece. At length the ſtaff graced his hand—God bleſs the mark!—and fortune put it into his power to diſcard, at leaſt, one of his vices; and to be, in ſome ſort, conſiſtent with himſelf. But, alas! Habit, which uſurps a control equal to that of nature, over our hearts, would not ſuffer herſelf to be robbed of her dominion in this inſtance; for, whether it was that

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the good man was too old to combat her, or that he felt a ſenſe of gratitude for the ſervices rendered him by this Habit, which he never before had felt for all his other friends put together, he could not find it in his heart to leave off the ſycophant, any more than in his power to leave off the tyrant. So that, now the ſlave at once of a bad nature and a vicious habit, his temper is fawning and furious, unequal and capricious; and poſſeſſing the means of free agency, he chequers the tyrant with frequent intermixtures of the ſlave; the terrour of thoſe who depend on him; the humble, puling, fawning lacquey of every boy of rank or fortune.

My Lord, I might well be aſhamed, if I indulged in drawing ſo diſgraceful a picture from motives of perſonal rancour, or general ſlander; mine, I know, is a purer motive. Bred from infancy a ſoldier, and trained up in ſubſtantial and arduous ſervice, and in advancing the intereſts of my country, under circumſtances which nothing but the teſtimony of ſome of the moſt reſpectable characters now living could reſcue from the imputation of fiction and romance, I cannot help feeling more than com-

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mon indignation to ſee ſuch grievous abuſes introduced into my favourite profeſſion; to ſee ſuch a dangerous dereliction of the purity of the military ſpirit in forming the Britiſh army, at a time when ſhe has the whole military force of France to oppoſe: a military, caſt in the very mould of heroiſm, and led by the greateſt general, the modern world, I might perhaps with truth ſay, the ancient too, has produced. I wonder the very name of Buonaparte does not flutter our miniſters into a more anxious care, and more juſt diſcrimination in the diſtribution of military office. But, excluſive of this unprecedented preſſure of our affairs, are ſuch things juſtifiable? or can one of your Lordſhip's ſagacity fail to prognoſticate the miſchiefs that muſt neceſſarily ariſe from a ſyſtem, which admits ſuch men as I have deſcribed, into the higheſt offices, in excluſion of the many gallant veterans, who have given undeniable proof of their claims to the confidence of their country?

My Lord, the miſchief is not confined to the defalcation in the ſolitary office the being himſelf fills: it extends as far as the influence of his command reaches. Under ſuch a man all ſubordination muſt be loſt—and under him it is loſt. Drunkenneſs and diſſipation pre-

prevail; an anomalous ſenſation, compoſed of fear and deriſion, is produced: and not only the ſervice is injured, but the name of military officer is brought into diſrepute. In reprobating ſuch abuſes too much cannot be ſaid. Of ſuch individuals I am aware I have ſaid more than they are worth. Firſt apologizing, therefore, to your Lordſhip, for having intruded you into ſuch company, I ſhall here diſmiſs them, and leave them to the indulgence of their toothpicks. It is, however, a ſubject of melancholy reflection, that, in an hour of danger like the preſent, thoſe whoſe buſineſs it is to recommend officers to his Majeſty, are not better informed of their characters, or more alive to the awful circumſtances of the times. And here a thought flies acroſs, ſo whimſical, I cannot refrain from giving it vent:—It is an old ſaying, when two perſons are eminently bad, it is a pity two houſes ſhould be ſpoiled by them. I cannot help thinking it would be a felicitous circumſtance, if a certain *Marchioneſs*, not a thouſand miles from the *Tweed*, were coupled with the gallant General, whoſe picture I have juſt attempted to ſketch: it would be an era in the hiſtory of both their hearts; ſince they would, probably

bly for the firſt time in their lives, feel ſomething like ſympathy. Nothing excites his anger ſo much as weakneſs—nothing her hatred ſo much as diſtreſs. Go to then; *there's ſympathy*. He is haughty, proud, and ill-natured; ſo is ſhe—*there's ſympathy*. He loves to ſmell a ſtink, and ſhe has always one at hand—*there is more ſympathy*. She always looks at her fellow-creatures, as if ſhe ſmelled ſomething offenſive; he, and his toothpick, are ready to furniſh an excuſe for her looks—*would you deſire better ſympathy?* What a pity it is that two ſuch ſtanding offences ſhould be allowed to live aſunder, and ſeparately poiſon two diſtant portions of atmoſpherical air, while, by living together in one manſion, they might abate one nuiſance, and mutually increaſe the quantum of each other's olfactory enjoyment.

My Lord, this is a time when all men are called upon to attend to matter of a higher kind than the petty detail of private ſelf-intereſt; when glory and ambition ſhould take place of intrigue and avarice; when we muſt fight for the ground, not fall to work to build. It is a fact well known, that the fox, and other beaſts of prey, when they find themſelves encloſed in a ſnare, become regardleſs

gardleſs of the bait that entrapped them. In like manner one would be led to hope, the different offices of Government, civil as well as military, would, for a time at leaſt, diſregard emoluments, and bend their whole powers, and devote their emoluments, to the defence of the country. I grant the emoluments of one man, or of fifty, would in the public expenſe be no more than a drop of water in the ſea; but it would be ſomething as an example, as it would ſerve to lead the way to others, as it would point out the propriety of ſuch a ſtep, and evince the ſincerity and reſolution of the perſon who came forward in ſo honourable and diſintereſted a manner. If your Lordſhip, for inſtance, were to begin, conjointly with a number of others who command regiments, your example would probably be followed; and incalculable would be the ſalutary effects ariſing from ſuch conduct. For my own part, I declare, there is nothing more I deſire than to devote my time and labour, or, if neceſſary, my life, to the gratuitous ſervice of the country. My ſon, too, ſhould be among the firſt of his rank to follow the example. Indeed, my Lord, it is a time that calls upon men to act a little out of the ordinary track

of life; it is a time, when nothing but purity and diſintereſted patriotiſm ſhould be ſeen to emanate from the better ſort, as a ſubſtantial example to the lower order; who, let us ſay what we will, only err, and fall into diſcord with the ſtate, when they take their tone from their ſuperiors: and I aſſure you, my Lord, I have never reflected without aſtoniſhment and diſguſt, upon the conduct of thoſe rich and great families, who, poſſeſſing wealth, even beyond the moſt capricious appetite, can yet be ſo mercenary, and ſo fooliſh, as to receive pay, and graſp at emoluments for commanding new regiments, which are intended for the defence of the country only in caſe of invaſion or neceſſity; for the defence of themſelves, their altars, their hearths, their property, and their lives. This is not all: thoſe military offices are, for the ſake of their pecuniary advantages, greedily ſought for by the baſe and avaricious part of the ariſtocracy; by men, "who never "ſet a ſquadron in the field, nor the divi-"ſion of a battle know more than a ſpinſter:" while men of approved courage and diſtinguiſhed ability, gallant, diſintereſted ſoldiers, who have no ſpur to puſh them on, but the love of their country, and a jealouſy

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of the riſing glories of France, would cheerfully and gratuitouſly ſerve if they were allowed. My Lord, if you wanted any other ſpring than that which flows from your own heart, any other motive to ſet you in motion, and ſtimulate you to glory, I might call upon you to look back to the hiſtory of your anceſtors: think what they would have done, and go thou and do likewiſe: endeavour to paint to your imagination what the illuſtrious John Duke of Argyll would do, if he were living at ſuch a criſis as this! Think of the example he would ſet to the ariſtocracy of the country! he, whoſe martial genius, and ſenatorial eloquence, were equalled only by his patriotiſm and political integrity. My Lord, a nobleman of your Lordſhip's rank and virtues could not fail, if you would but rouſe yourſelf from inactivity, and, treading in the paths of your forefathers, would ſeek glory through the rough and thorny wilds of the preſent day, to call into your company that vaſt maſs of talents, virtue, and probity, which exiſt in the country, not only totally independent, but abhorrent, of both Adminiſtration and Oppoſition; who look with aſtoniſhment and horror upon two factions, that are deſtroying the country.

Let me aſk you, my Lord, what title has Lord Moira to that diſtinction, paid him by a great part of the members of both Houſes of Parliament, that the houſe of Argyll cannot lay equal claim to? His Lordſhip's virtues I ſubſcribe to; and ſo deeply impreſſed was I with them long ago, that I felt ſhame and mortification at the ſituation in which he ſuffered himſelf to be placed by miniſters, in the affair of the Southampton army. I was, indeed, aſtoniſhed, his Lordſhip did not foreſee ſo much quackery, foppery, and parade. So much of the tinſel circumſtances of war, was not likely to end in any ſubſtantial or glorious exploit. After playing him there to the public, as the leader of a magnificent enterpriſe againſt France, his Lordſhip was, all at once, left without an army, and the men who were to have courted glory on the plains of France, againſt French heroes, were all at one ſweep carried off to fight barbarians, and feed, one after another, the hungry maw of Peſtilence, to the number—great God! can it be thought of without horror and amazement?—to the number of near 50,000 men. The ridicule which naturally fell upon ſuch a piece of mock parade, was much heightened by the miſtaken partiſans of his Lordſhip, who

drew the public attention to his ſituation, by ill-judged puffs in the public prints, and by their creating as great a buſtle about the enterpriſe, even in its incipient ſtage, as could have been made about the Duke of Marlborough, after all his victories and glories had been accompliſhed. I wiſh thoſe creatures could be convinced how deeply they injure, while they affect to ſerve his Lordſhip. Since I am upon the ſubject, I may here, as well as in any other place, make a few obſervations upon his Lordſhip's late political conduct, as diſplayed in his letter to Col. Macmahon, and in his ſpeech upon Iriſh affairs. It would be wronging the opinion I entertain of Lord Moira, to ſay, the publication of his letter to Col. Macmahon at a time like this, and at a period ſo remote from the tranſaction to which it alludes, was done by him, or by his deſire, or with his conſent; its being kept ſo long unpubliſhed, and brought forth juſt at the moment one of the moſt important meaſures, which had ever paſſed through Parliament, was pending before the Houſe, and when every factious artifice was uſed to raiſe the public voice againſt the executive government, ſurely was not Lord Moira's act. It was evidently the device of ſome of that wily

wily herd of half ſtateſmen, half inſurgents, who ſo induſtriouſly and zealouſly ply about through all parts of the metropolis, the pretended partiſans, yet, in fact, the crafty enemies, or boſom traitors of Mr. Fox; perhaps ſome of thoſe demi-jacobins, whom that great, deluded man, is raiſing up to tread upon his neck. No, my Lord, that muſty, cat-gnawed gooſe-bone, could not have been ſnatched out from the duſt and cobwebs of the political traſh corner, with any other than pernicious intent: but, like all ill-done diſhes, it had few admirers. Having neither meat nor marrow, it was not calculated to ſolicit the appetite of honeſt John Bull, whoſe palate has not yet been rendered entirely depraved by French ſeaſoning. As a private letter, containing a ſtatement of mere matters of fact, and of his Lordſhip's perſonal motives, it is well enough; but I believe it would puzzle the moſt zealous and ingenious partiſans of Lord Moira, to find any decent pretext or apology for the manner in which the Duke of Portland is mentioned in it. That his Grace ſhould be particularly the object of Jacobin abhorrence and animadverſion, and ſhould be infinitely more reviled and abuſed by that abominable deſcription of men,

men, than the other members of the cabinet, is not ſurpriſing, becauſe his ſterling integrity, his independent ſpirit, and the generous ſincerity of his excellent heart, ſanctified the cauſe to which he devoted himſelf, and gave it a credit and ſupport, which it could not have attained without him. It therefore appears irreconcilable with the ideas I had formed of his Lordſhip, that he ſhould mention the Duke of Portland in ſuch terms. I know much has been ſaid of his Grace's dereliction of the cauſe of Ireland, and his remaining coaleſced with a ſet of men, who had broken the moſt ſolemn pledges on that ſubject, and brought that country to ruin by their baleful politics. Might not good ſenſe and candour, leſs than what is attributed to Lord Moira, have ſtopped to conſider the motives of his Grace? If he had, he might have diſcovered that of which I am perſuaded, namely, the Duke ſtaid in power to give vigour, coheſion, and credit, to the adminiſtration of the only men who ſeemed to be really diſpoſed to purſue ſuch meaſures as he thought were moſt likely to ſave the empire. To ſave England was, and ought to be, his Grace's firſt object: that effected, there is nothing to prevent juſtice being done

to

to Ireland, as far as irrevocable injuries will allow of juſtice and retribution. And this naturally leads me to Lord Moira's ſpeech in the Houſe of Peers, upon Iriſh affairs: to judge in the moſt favourable terms of which, I can only ſay, a more miſtaken or imprudent ſpeech in its firſt conception, or a more miſchievous one in its ultimate tendency, could not poſſibly at this time have been uttered. I am ſure his Lordſhip is not one of thoſe who would willingly play a wild or adventurous game in the world of politics; his ample and unincumbered fortune is a ſecurity againſt the intruſion into his mind of ſuch ſchemes: beſides, his loyalty and his honour ſtand unimpeached. But, upon my honour, my Lord, if ſuch a ſpeech had been made in Parliament by ſome men, who do make ſpeeches there, I ſhould have been unalterably convinced, it was ſpoken with no other intent than to bring about a revolution in Ireland. Perhaps his Lordſhip's cooler judgment will tell him, he might, with more advantage to Ireland, been leſs active lately, and more active at firſt, than he has been. For myſelf, I declare, no one views with more abhorrence than I do, any ſyſtem of rigorous or unjuſt coercion. But it is not a time

time to make conceſſions to men in arms in that country, when the hoſts of France are hovering over our ſhores. Let us firſt repel the enemy; let him be taught his expectations are arrogant and viſionary; let us make an honourable and ſecure peace with France; and then let the grievances of Ireland be redreſſed: and if the ſyſtem ſet on foot there ſhall be found to have been vicious, and the enormities committed under it ſhall be ſatisfactorily proved, nothing will give me more ſatisfaction than to ſee the miniſters who adviſed it brought to puniſhment.

I never conſidered his Lordſhip's public talents in any other point of view than in that of his profeſſion, a good officer, a man of ſpirit and activity; it was only in the tranſaction related in his letter to Col. Macmahon, I found him, for the firſt time, a great ſtateſman. Neither his eloquence in the ſenate, nor his wiſdom at the council-board, were ever the topics of public applauſe; and, if I do not miſtake, his Lordſhip has not any great public civil ſervice to boaſt of, which entitles him to the conſequence, the gentlemen alluded to in that letter, would confer on him. My Lord, will not this ſerve to rouſe you to exertion? will you do

nothing to emulate and obtain that diſtinction, which you ſee may be acquired without any very extraordinary depth of wiſdom or knowledge? I am ſure I as little mean to flatter you, as to depreciate Lord Moira, when I ſay, your claims to the confidence of the public, and of the gentlemen to whom I allude, ought to be as great as his: perſonal exertion alone is wanting. If your Lordſhip wants a proof of the ſingular and certain efficacy of mere exertion and perſeverance, you have only to turn your eyes to a certain Scotch Baronet, who, without one ſpark of talent or genius, one hook in his head to hang an inference upon, had, by ſtraining every nerve he poſſeſſed, and bringing into action all he could collect from the intellect and exertions of other men, jumbling them together in the cavities of his ſkull, contrived for a long time to paſs for a man of uſeful knowledge, good ſenſe, and buſineſs. But, after a long courſe of cautious diffidence, in which he ſhowed great prudence, vanity, or, as ſome ſay, reſentment at not being treated by the miniſter as he expected, prompted him to move forward occaſionally in oppoſition on ſubjects where all extrinſic aid, all friendly aſſiſtance, was out of reach; and

ſee

ſee the conſequence! He was, in a few ſlight flimſy rencontres with the miniſter, plumped down into that depth of nothingneſs from which he had contrived, with the indefatigable exertions of ſo many years, to emerge; and he is now ſo much the ſubject of ridicule as to be conſidered by the lower ranks of people to be liberally paid for exhibiting himſelf as a foil to the miniſter in the Houſe of Commons.

With talents and influence ſuch as yours then, what might not your Lordſhip, in a day like this, effect for your country, your family, and your own fame? In your own part of this iſland, you might, merely by your perſonal preſence, by being among them, and making one of them, bring to the uſes of the ſtate, every heart, hand, and mind of every rank and every deſcription: and indeed, my Lord, if a man of conſequence finds himſelf indiſpoſed to mix in the tumult, and partake of the labours of the great metropolitan ſcene of action, he ought, at leaſt, to reſide where his influence gives him means to be uſeful; that is his poſt, and there is his duty; ſhaping the opinions, and guiding the propenſities, and controlling the errors of thoſe, who, in this perilous ſtorm,

will want a pilot; and, not finding one, will run aſtray. Depend upon it, my Lord, you, and every man in your ſtate, have, at this time, an awful reſponſibility impoſed upon you. Suppoſe that, while your Lordſhip, with good intentions, no doubt, yet not innocently, are whiling away your time in a crowd of idle, uſeleſs men of rank, dawdling about St. James's Street; an energetic, active, wicked crew of Jacobin atheiſtical men, clad in canonicals, ſhould be poiſoning the minds, and perverting the hearts of your tenantry, for whoſe loyalty you are morally and religiouſly reſponſible, becauſe you might, if you would only go among them, direct them as you pleaſe: ſuppoſe, that, for want of that attention, the uninformed and ignorant, who are ſubject to be moved by every guſt, ſhould, in the criſis of danger, be prevailed upon to rebel, how could you anſwer to your king, or to your country, for the conſequences of your neglect? And is ſuch a thing impoſſible? lay not that flattering unction to your ſoul.

My Lord, in Kantyre alone your family poſſeſſes eight or ten thouſand a year. Is not the ſecurity of that property, are not the morals of the people who inhabit it, is not

their ſatisfaction even worth the tribute of your Lordſhip's occaſional preſence? My Lord, it requires little more than to be convinced of the inſipidity of St. James's Street, and of the degradation that a lounging city life is to a man of your important rank, to find ten thouſand beauties in Kantyre, and ten thouſand genuine delights in improving and meliorating the condition of your people there, and in cultivating their affections. How much more honourable in the eyes of the world, more gratifying to your private feelings, and more advantageous to your country in this ſtruggle, would it be to have a number of brave, attached, and faithful followers, who would pour, like ten thouſand torrents, down the mountain ſides of your eſtate, and line the ſhores of Great Britain with a hoſt of warriors, that would ſtand firm as the rocks that defend our coaſts, and ſtrike diſmay to the hearts of our enemies, than to exiſt, I ſay painfully to exiſt, the ſlave of faſhion, the martyr of ennui, and the victim of inglorious, corroſive languor!

When it came to my turn to viſit and reſide in the country which now calls with irreſiſtible claims upon your attention, I wondered how a rational man could barter

ſuch

ſuch charms for ſuch deformity, or how, putting the *phyſical good* of the country out of the queſtion, he could exchange the fidelity, probity, virtue, generoſity, truth, and ſincerity of Argyllſhire, for the perfidy, fraud, vice, ſelfiſhneſs, falſehood, inſincerity — in one word, for the *ton* of St. James's Street. Much leſs acquainted than your Lordſhip ought to be with that delightful country, and my whole life ſpent in travels, and viewing the fineſt parts of the globe, I confeſs I feel myſelf ſo attached to it, and to its people, that I ſhall think every hour I am obliged to ſpend away from it ſo much detracted from the ſum of my happineſs.

There are few men, my Lord, to whom, valuing their good opinion as I do yours, I ſhould have written in this ſtyle of freedom; but, in the few and ſhort opportunities I have had of converſing with you, I have made it my buſineſs, and exerted the little ſagacity a long experience has given me, to develope the character of the perſon who was to repreſent a long and unſpotted line of heroes and ſtateſmen, and to ſupport the character of chief of the name of *Campbell*; and I was convinced I ſaw in you that which might be ſpoken to with honeſt freedom and

bold

bold zeal. I thought I could perceive candour, good-nature, and ſound ſenſe, without a ſhade of arrogance or affectation: and I am willing to believe you belong to neither of the parties or factions whoſe conduct I reprobate. Let me then repeat it to your Lordſhip, you ought to appear much in Scotland; you are not ſufficiently known there, and it is your duty to be both known and reſpected in that country; for, if you are not known, you cannot be reſpected; and, if you are not reſpected, you will ſo far degenerate from your illuſtrious family, who were, to a man, known, beloved, and reſpected. Conſider, my Lord, what a pity it will be for you to give up the palm of your country's preference: you have no very formidable rival there; the whole number of your competitors is confined to two: a certain Duke of a neighbouring county will hardly ſtand a moment's competition. I know there are few Lavaters in this life; but every man has in his nature a degree more or leſs of the phyſiognomiſt, and his Grace's face muſt be deciſive in your favour. The young nobleman whom I conſider as the ſecond, has ſome ſprightly and amiable qualities, and *condeſcends* to make himſelf agreeable.

His

His Lordſhip, however, does not want penetration, and I underſtand has had the ſenſe to diſcover the *Brompton paraſite*, and to ſay that he was playing him off, and making a fool of him. You are called upon, then, by every public principle, as well as every private motive, to reſide a great deal in that country, of which you are, one day, in the courſe of nature (if the active energy of Jacobiniſm, and the unjuſtifiable indolence and ſupineneſs of the proprietary of the land, do not overturn all property), to be chief; or elſe you are bound to bear an active part in the great drama of the court and parliament. I look to your conduct with the earneſtneſs of a friend anxious for the honour of yourſelf and of your family, and I wiſh you not to caſt away moments ſo precious to yourſelf, your family, and your country, in a courſe of vacuity and inactivity, which, if much longer indulged, would diſcredit the fair claims which you derive from nature as well as from rank and property, and would at length end in a nothingneſs almoſt equal to that produced by the ſnivelling pompoſity, the pirapiſmical loftineſs, the wiſehood levity, ſuperficial gravity, and ſilly importance of the Scotch Baronet I have already alluded to.

Surely,

Surely, my Lord, you are not uninformed that the ſpirit of revolt has been alive and buſy in Scotland, and that it is in a great meaſure owing to the wiſe and ſpirited conduct of the Court of Seſſion that it has hitherto been ſuppreſſed. Thoſe things could not well happen, if every great man remained upon his eſtate, by his preſence and counſel to give a proper direction to the ſentiments and opinions of his people. Such men have, therefore, no excuſe to offer for their abſence, unleſs they can ſay they are employed in ſome duty of a ſuperior importance to the nation at large.

A word at parting, my Lord, reſpecting the war. Although it is now of little conſequence how the war began, we cannot ſhut our eyes againſt a truth which every day brightens into greater effulgence—that we were compelled to go to war; that is to ſay, France was guilty of the aggreſſion; and if we had not gone to war, there muſt have been a revolution in England. Hardly does a packet arrive from the continent of Europe, or from the continent of America; that does not unfold ſome new fact in evidence of the deſigns of France againſt the government and exiſtence of this country having been

conceived previous to any ſemblance of diſagreement on the part of England: ſo far, then, Mr. Pitt and his colleagues have done their duty; but how will he or they be able to account for their manner of conducting it?

What juſt object could England have in view, except the extinction of that doctrine which threatened her exiſtence? And was it by fighting with Maroons, negroes, and ſavages, in the Weſt Indies, we were to hope to extinguiſh it? Was it by abandoning the cauſe of the emigrants, ex-nobles, and monarch of France, and entering into a peculating diſmemberment of the French dominions, we were to conciliate the tempers, and acquire the confidence, of the majority of France, who deſired to cruſh that principle? Was it by leaving the brave and loyal men of La Vendée to periſh for want of arms, we were to animate the anti-jacobins and royaliſts, who far outnumbered their enemies in that country? Did not the mode of warfare purſued by the rulers of that country point out to miniſters the only plan of operation that poſſibly could ſucceed againſt them? Our miniſters conducted the war as if they were fighting for a colony or an iſland; the rulers of France, like men contending for the empire

of

of the world. Oh, what a perpetual ſtain upon the character of Britain will reſult from a compariſon of the magnificent plan of the uſurpers of France with the contemptible, petty, conniving, tricking, peculating conduct of England! It cannot, perhaps, be more happily exemplified than by Buonaparte, who hurls terror from France to the extremity of Europe, and Sir Gilbert Elliot, who very ſagaciouſly refuſed to employ him at Corſica in the humble ſituation of a lieutenant? It would be unfair if I omitted to obſerve that it is ſaid, much to the honour of Mr. Windham, that, while for the ſafety of England he ſupported the miniſters who counteracted his and his friend Burke's plans of operation, he never failed to deprecate their mode of proceeding, and to urge the propriety of attacking France in France. Had that been done; had the La Vendéeans been ſupplied with arms; had the royal family of France, and the long liſt of gallant ex-nobles, been put forward; had the conqueſts of the allies been inſtantly garriſoned by emigrant troops, in the name of the king of France; and every practical pledge been given of the ſincerity of the intentions of the allies, the danger of England would not, this day, be great. The brave men of

La Vendée, who, without arms, killed more of the Jacobins than all the allies taken together, would, if ſupplied with ammunition and artillery, and ſtrengthened by thoſe gallant Britiſh ſoldiers who died of the plague in the Weſt Indies, have at leaſt divided that portion of France, and with it *Breſt*, for ever from the Republic.

Indeed, my Lord, the conduct of Mr. Pitt and *his* party (for to that part of the King's miniſtry are generally attributed all the miſcarriages of the war) has been ſuch, that a good man could hardly lament thoſe miſcarriages, if they were not pitched againſt an enemy, whoſe views are ſo utterly irreconcilable with the political exiſtence of Great Britain, and the peace and ſafety of mankind. We muſt, therefore, ſupport while we abominate the men who oppoſe France, though feebly, while they oppreſs England greatly, until we have a chance of an adminiſtration who would not at once plunge us fathoms deep under the deſpotiſm and control of the preſent five tyrants of France—thoſe monſters, who, like all upſtarts inveſted with unexpected power, exert it in abuſe; and, having in their hands the means of imparting peace and felicity to the world, invoke the ſpirit of the Devil to

their

their aid, and ſcatter terrour, torment, and ruin through the world. How it will end, it would be arrogant to predict.—We cannot ſay what will happen, but we know what it is our duty to do.—It is our duty to reſiſt the encroachments of France to the laſt ſhilling of our principal, and the laſt drop of our blood. Mean time, the hope of redemption from this French tyranny muſt dawn and riſe in France itſelf: for, until the French people ſhall be able to cut off their preſent uſurpers, and obtain a government that will ſubmit to ſome control from reaſon and humanity, neither France itſelf, nor the reſt of the world, will be able to obtain the inеſtimable bleſſings of ſecurity and peace.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 4, line 8, *for*, like every other good quality, it recedes, *read*, modesty, like every other good quality, recedes
5, — 3 from bottom, *for* except, *read*, but
6, — 6, not a new paragraph
14, *for* Notwithstanding, *read*, But indeed, my Lord
17, *after* risk, a comma
18, *dele* than myself
20, *for* myself, *read*, my own personal interest
7, — 19, *for* and life, *read*, and of life
9, — 18, *for* the, *read*, this
11, — 19, *for* he, *read*, the
23, *after* rose, *insert a reference, and add, as a note at the bottom of the page*, His professions of supporting a parliamentary reform
15, — 2, *for* did exist, *read*, had existed
16, — 23, *after* speechifying, *add*, has
18, — 17, *for* at another, *read*, and at another
3 from bottom, *for* has, *read*, have
22, — 6, *for*, minds. Take, *read*, minds; taking
13, *for* conceptions, *read*, conception
23, — 12, *dele* the comma after *suffer*
18, *after* virtues, insert a semicolon
25, — 17, *for* virtue, *read*, virtues
29, — 21, *for* a great part, *read*, the greater part
31, — 10, *after* me, insert a —
33, — 15, not a new paragraph
34, — 21, *dele* and
2 from bottom, *after* be, insert a colon
35, — 4, *after* maintain, *insert* that
39, — 9, *for* intruded, *read*, introduced
40, — 4, Go to then, *should be in italics*
15, *for* distant, *read*, distinct
41, — 5, *for* emoluments, *read*, pecuniary views
22, *for* more I, *read*, I more
44, — 12, *after* parade *put* a comma
13, *for* circumstances, *read*, circumstance
46, — 9, *for* goose-bone, *read*, bone
50, — 14, 15, *for* to hang an inference upon, *read*, upon which to hang an inference
52, — 7, *for* innocently, *read*, not innoxiously
53, — 22, *dele* I say
54, — 5, *for* Argyllshire, *read*, Cantyre
24, *for* was, *read*, is
56, — 3 from bottom, *read thus:* the priapismical loftiness, the wise-wood levity, the superficial gravity

20 JY 64